

RAMUS OLIVÆ;
OR,
AN HUMBLE MOTION
FOR
P E A C E:

Presented to His Sacred
M A I E S T I E,
And the Honourable Houses of
P A R L I A M E N T:

And commended to the consideration of the
people, for the composing the miserable Di-
stractions of this Kingdome, and for the prevention
of the farther shedding of Christian Blood.

By THOMAS WARMSTRY,
Preacher of Gods Word.

*Blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the
children of God, Matth. 5. 9.*

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RAMUS OLIVÆ;
OR,
AN HUMBLE MOTION
FOR
P E A C E:

Presented to His Sacred MAJESTIE,
and the Honourable Houses
of PARLIAMENT.



Oft Gracious Sovereigne, and yee the
Right Honourable of the Houses of Par-
liament, in the hope of your clemency,
and in the sense of the great misery
which is now more than ready to break
out to a deluge of bloud upon this
whole Nation; I humbly crave that it
may seeme no presumption, if in so great and dangerous a
flame, which hath already begun to forrage upon the whole
body of this State, I have employed my poore endeavours
to bring my Bucket unto so lamentable a fire. The great
extremity that we are all like to suffer, and the common in-

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terest that we all have in the good or evill of this Church and Kingdome, will I hope deliver me from the imputation of impertinency, or over-businesse in a matter too great for me.

Abigail, and the poore woman of *Tekoa* were not despised by royall *David*, when they came upon a message of peace, and for the prevention of bloud; and yet their suit was but for a *Nabal*, and an *Abfalon*: O disdaine not then I beseech you the humble petition of your unworthy suppliant, since my request is for peace too as well as theirs; and for the preservation of the life and bloud, not of a *Nabal*, or an *Abfalon*, but of a whole Kingdome and State. But let the meanest of your Oratours, for the cause sake which he now pleadeth, obtaine a favourable hearing at your Tribunalls of mercy.

I lye here prostrate at your feet, to plead for the honour and safety of a gracious King, and His Posterity, for the lives and security of three whole Nations, for the prosperity and happinesse of an once glorious Church; And *If either of these be too great for me to aske*, yet, O remember *They are all too good for you to deny*. The Israel of God is before your eyes, ready to be overwhelmed in a red Sea; Oh let Your Majestie and the Parliament be now like *Moses*, Stretch forth your joyned hands over this Sea, that these waters of division may be divided asunder, that both you and all the people may passe over in safety.

Oh consider I beseech you what it is that you go about, and what will you doe in the end thereof?

Consider the dubious and dangerous event of the War,
The dismall and sad condition of the Victory,
The sweet and comfortable inducements unto Peace,
The unsafe, and more than doubtfull nature of the cause,
The unlikelyhood of good to be obtained by the quarrell,
The faire gates and passages that God hath yet left open,
for an amiable conclusion of this unhappy division.

First, The event of the Warre: Oh how dubious and perillous.

illous is it! Who can say in whose ruine it shall not end? The Crowne, the life of Your sacred Majestie, is hereby put as it were upon the point of the sword. The Sunne of our firmament in danger of an eclipse. The lamp of Israel, the light of our eyes, exposed to the tempestuous breath of a civill warre. Those hopefull buds of honour, Your Majesties Children, the inheritance and happinesse of an after age. And those other valiant branches of Your royall Stock, those *duo fulmina belli*, those Thunderbolts of warre, who we hope may live to doe many wonders for the Church of God, and vindication of his people; and to put terror into the foes both of this and their owne Nations. All these Jewels, and precious Gemmes of mankind, are hereby laid open to the impartiall sword, that hath no eyes to discern the sacred glory of a Crowne; no taste to distinguish betweene Royall and Common blood. The precious foundation, and the very pillars and buttresses of this whole State are laid bare unto the shock; yea, the whole fabrique and building it selfe, All those glorious Starres of this Hemisphere, The illustrious Nobles, and Worthies of the Land. The valiant and accomplisht Gentry, The whole body of the numerous Commonalty: And let me adde too without offence unto any, The learned, pious, and laborious Clergy of the Land, are hereby put into the mouth of danger; and, which is not the least of our feares, The safety and preservation of the true Protestant Religion is upon the lott in this sad difference. This is like to be defended by both in peace, in danger to be left to ruine by both in this warre; Whilst you strive for it as your prize, others, it may be feared, will make it their spoyle. Oh consider, I humbly beseech you, what seedes of perpetuall and immortall discords may be hereby sowed betweene King and Subjects? What staynes and disrelishes may be hereby brought upon Parliaments, both in this and in after ages, if your Laws like *Draco's*, should be written in blood, even in the blood of your owne Prince and Nation. If you that are chosen to

be the Guardians of peace should appeare in the least manner to be the fosterers of warre, if you that are designed for repayrers of breaches, should have any hand in the demolishing, and pulling downe of this building; O consider from whose gracious hands you have received that life, whereby you are now in motion, Have you not received it from the royall Palme? Was not this breathed into you by the royall mouth? And was there ever any Prince did so much for a Parliament, or ever Parliament that askt what you have received? And was not this a bounty of free and voluntary grace? To say it was extorted were to weaken your right in it; and what an horrid appearance of high ingratitude may this designe carry in the thoughts now, and in words and writings hereafter: If the Fountaine should runne low, or be dried up by that liberall streame which it hath lent you, If like the unthankfull vapour that cloudes the Sunne that raised it, or like the Moone in the interposition, that obscures that very glory that enlightens it; you should in the least manner employ that strength you have against that gracious hand that imparted it unto you: If your King should fall either in life or honour (which God defend) by that power or authority which he hath disarmed himselfe of, that he might invest you with it for the defence of both you and the Kingdomes. Such a spot would be a blemish in the very eye of the fairest issue you can hope for in this businesse. However, your thoughts I know abhorre such a cursed event, yet you may proceed so farre if you take not heed, that you may put it out of your power to prevent it.

What, should I tell you of the great thoughts of heart that this may put into the mindes of Princes, that lineage and pedigree of jealousies and discontents, that the memory, the story of this sad enterprise may derive through the whole succession of our Monarchs, to make them disaffected unto these great Assemblies, which may be a continual canker in the State, a very plague in the heart of this
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Kingdome, a fire in the very bowells thereof, a raging poyson in the very life-bloud of this body.

But alas, what thinke wee of after times; when the weaknesse of the body seemeth to be such, that it is not likely to hold out many fits of so violent paroxysmes, as this great distemper is like to produce? If this goe on, which way soever wee looke, we can scarce see any thing but ruine, so that the doubt lyes almost onely in this, on which side the building is like to tumble; which where ever it lights, must crush those that are under it: onely a happy, reconciliation may be yet a meanes to prevent destruction.

Oh I beseech you delay not the prosecution of it, and be not the inheritours of that reproach, which *Demades* the Oratour laid upon the Athenians in *Plutarch*, That they never sate upon treaties of peace but in black and mourning garments, when they had paid too deare for their quarrels, by the losse and destruction of their parents and friends.

Oh thinke upon the stayne of Christian bloud, that hath already polluted the Land; how many lifes have beene already sacrificed unto the fury of the devouring sword, the least whereof must be accounted unto God, and for ought I see, is of greater value than the greatest moment of the present difference.

I here upon the bended knees of my heart present unto you both, the sighes, the groanes, the sorrowes, the lamentations, the feares, the hopes both of the present and future ages; The cares and cryes of Subjects for the safety of their gracious Prince, of Majestie it selfe mourning for his Subjects, of them for themselves; of tender mothers for their deare children, of loving wives for their beloved husbands, of wayling children for their carefull parents; yea, of very Embryons yet in the prison of the wombe, and many millions yet unconceived, unbegotten; The very elements and unactuated principles of those generations which are yet to come, which are all like to have a share in the mischeise.

cheife of this businesse. These, all with united playnts and supplications, doe as it were begge for your pitty. Oh, as you your selves looke to be heard in Heaven, stop not your eares against so great a cry upon earth; let them be heard by you here, that they never be heard against you there: Oh doe not cast the inheritance of all the happinesse of your selves and posterity upon so dubious, so dangerous an event of warre, especially where the victory is like to yeeld no recompence.

For as the event is dubious and dangerous, so the victory on which side ever it falls, must needes be sad and inglorious. And when the revells of the sword are ended in the effusion of so great a Sea of bloud, if there shall be any remaining to divide the product of the quarrell betwixt them, it is like to be a hard matter to determine which is at the greater losse, either he that is the winner, or the looser of the field.

For what I beseech you shall such a victory have, where-with to solace it selfe withall?

It can expect neither a glorious triumph to grace the Conquerour,

Nor any joyfull acclamations to congratulate him,

Nor any abundant spoyle to enrich him,

Nor any addition of strength to fortifie him, either for terrour abroad, or power at home.

1. No glorious triumph can be the share of this Conquest: That Palme branch never growes or prospers out of the showers of intestine bloud. The *Romans* themselves, those great votaries of glory, allowed no triumph unto civill waies: Such disinnall discords must have no such golden prizes; and however the heat of their unquiet spirits, set them sometimes into such a flame, whether through ambition, the pestilence of States, or for want of forraigne enemies to exercise their force, which was too swelling and active to lye still; yet their humanity it seems had so much the conquest of their fury, as not to suffer them to be so barbarously

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barrenly cruell; as to glory in the blood of their owne Nation.

This makes the *Roman* Poet bespeake them thus, addressing himselfe unto the divided Eagles of *Rome*, the incensed parties of *Cesar* and *Pompey*.

*Quis furor, ô cives, quæ tanta licentia ferri,
Gentibus inuisis Latium præbere cruorem?
Cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda Trophæis
Ausonius, umbræque erraret Crassus inultâ;
Bella geri placuit nullis habitura triumphos?
Heu quantum terra potuit pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextra?*

What now? my masters, are you mad?

and shall the lawlesse sword,

To hostile Nations by our hands
the *Romane* blood afford?

Whilst with *Ausonian* Trophies proud,
Babel unspoyld remaines;

And *Crassus* wandring shade by you
no vengeance yet obtaines?

Is this a time such warre to wage,
that ne're no triumph gaines?

Oh how much both of Sea and Land,
might to the *Romane* power

Bin purchast by that rate of blood,
which civill hands devoure!

Turne but *Romane* and *Ausonian* into *English* or *British*, and let *Crassus* shadow goe but for a shadow as it is, and then the verses may be translated as well to our Nation as to our language, and may serve as an allay to the fury of our diltempers, sith the nature of them is even the same; and the disadvantages and discouragements that lye against them even alike. As theirs were civill and intestine discords, so alas are ours.

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The *Romans* had other business to have done, as the Poet tells her afterwards; *Nondum tibi desuis hostes*. She had enemies enough to have exercised her valour to farre better purpose. ~~That she had then a~~ *Dispute*, and the same *Rome* and her ~~party is now a very~~ *little* ~~to us~~ Too too proud with the Trophees & spoyles of Protestant Princes and Churches. Witnesse the *Palatinate*, and our deare sister, *Ireland*; both which would have beene fitter matter for us to have exercised our heats upon, than to the destruction of our own Nation: especially this latter. Oh hearken we beseech you, do not you heare their blood cry hitherto unto you; as for helpe there, so for peace here. Is it a time for us to fall out with one another now? What, just now? neither sooner, nor later? when the distresse of our poore brethren calls for our united strength? Surely I cannot but begge leave to suspect, that whosoever are the actors, such perhaps for the most part as little thinke of any such thing, yet the contrivers of this unhappy difference on both sides, have sure plowed with some *Jesuites* heyfer, some *Ignatian* ignited spirit is the grand informer of this businesse, I am perswaded, who watch in secret, laughing in their sleeves, to make their advantage of our divisions: And they (not we) if this fire be not quenched, are like to have the triumph in these unhappy quarrells.

Who ever shall prove the Conquerour amongst us, will have more cause to mourne, than to rejoyce. The blood of your owne people and subjects is no fit dy for Your Majesties triumphant Robes; much lesse can any of you that are the Nobles and States of the Kingdome expect any glorious colour unto your garments, from the royall blood of your owne naturall Prince and his posterity, or from the gore of your fellow-subjects. This will rather bee a perpetuall stayne upon you, and your generations. Oh doe not fight then for your owne dishonour.

Your

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Your Majestie can be in nothing so illustrious as in peace; Oh remember, I beseech you, that excellent axiome of *Seneca* (pardon my petition, I doubt not but you will, wee have good reason to see that you do, but yet give mee leave to begge, if it be but to ease my minde: The King of Kings loves to be sued to for those things which are granted before they are askt. Remember it, I beseech You, and let it be engraven upon Your Diademe) *Nihilus ornamentum Principis fastigio dignius, pulchriusque est, quam illa Corona ob cives servatos:*

No Crowne more glorious on a Printes Brow,
As that which subjects safety doth allow.

Oh let not any thing divert Your Majestie from the endeavour of this so great an honour. That that of *Salust* to *C. Caesar* may be yours: *Ut ne inimici quidem quere quicquam audemus, nisi de magnitudine tua.* So may Your triumph be an unbloody victory, adorned with the whitest robes of clemencie and peace, so shall You obtaing a cheape, but a most glorious conquest, over the very hearts and affections of Your subjects, which will be ready to attend Your triumphant Chariot, as the Prize and Captives of Your Majesties goodnesse, bound and fettered with the golden chaines of their most loyall affections to Your Majestie, which will be of greater splendour unto Your Majestie, than any bloody tryall of this matter can afford You, which is like to purchase You only slaves, or dead bodies, and that at a farre dearer rate, than such a spoyle can recompense.

And Oh may your Excellencie, and that most Honorable Assembly now obtaine your shares too in this Glorious atchievement, by a sweet and happy compliance with His Majesty, that you both may become joynt Victours, and Conquerours over this horrid and unruly monster, That bloody, and unnatural beast; yea that very Devill

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of civill discord, which is now even ready to devour this whole Nation, whereby you shall do a more Noble act, than *Lyfimachus* did in strangling a Lyon: And make both your selves, and our Gracious Monarch, partakers in that Elegie which *Martial* would have the priviledge of *Cæsars* time:

*Contigit hoc nulli nisi te sub Principe, Cæsar,
Cum duo pugnarent, victor uterque fuit.*

This chance to any ne're befell, *Cæsar*, but in thy Raign,
That two should strive, and both the victory obtaine.

Thus, thus you may be both victorious. A happy union is that alone, that will give the Palme both to King and Parliament, whilst thereby they shall subdue one of the most violent, & most dangerous enemies that can possibly assault a Common-wealth: for such is that intestine division that is amongst us, which strikes at the very essence of a State. And who would not overcome so dangerous a foe, when it may be done without a blow, put but up your swords, and you have both wanne the field. But without this you are like to have none other triumph, than such as *David's* was after the victory of *Abalom*, in the first Booke of *Samuel*: or such as the Children of *Israel* had after the slaughter of *Benjamin*, in the Booke of *Judges*, a generall face of sadnesse and repentance. for what other can be expected, or with piety, or humanity admitted, when you shall see the blood of your brethren and children, and of your dearest and nearest friends, made the price of you must tell mee what: and the end of the warre, perhaps the period and ruine of a late flourishing nation, that might have lived as long as any, had not so violent a medicine shortned its dayes, and kill'd it with a *Cataplasme*.

And what will be the acclamations, wherewith you are like to be received? Not

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Not like those joyfull encomions, wherewith *David* was met after the victory of *Goliath*,

Nor like that song of *Deborah* and *Barak*, after the overthrow of *Sisera*.

No, no, But what must you expect: instead of *ὑμνῶν*, or a song of joy, you must looke for the sighs, and groans, nay perhaps the curses of orphans and widowes, the lamentations of parents. And which is the worst musicke of all, more dismall than the croking of Ravens, or the screeching of Owles, the cry of all that blood that shall be spilt: Oh I beseech you thinke upon it.

The best you can hope for in this kind is like those dissonant and unharmonious (rather cries) acclamations, wherein the Jews had their parts at the laying the foundation of the second Temple in *Ezra*, wherein the noyse of the shout of Joy could not be discerned from the noyse of the weeping of the people; The clouds of sighs which are like to be exhaled for dead friends, wounded bodies, wasted Countries, spoyled estates, and many other miseries, will obscure the Glory of the greatest joy that can be the issue of this warre on either side.

Neither can you solace your selves against these evils with the richnesse of the spoyle.

Perhaps indeed some may grow rich hereby by the ruines of others, as the spleene in the body is said to grow, and gather bulk unto it selfe by the wasting and consumption of the rest of the parts, but alas such a disproportioned augmentation is rather a disease than an advantage. The hand growes never the fatter for that nourishment that it layes hold on of it selfe, though it keepe it never so fast in its gripe, it thrives only by that which it receives in its proper turne and due proportion, by the allowance of the whole body; what is otherwise snatched, and detained from the whole, may starve both it selfe, and the rest of the parts. As little joy are they like to have in it, that enrich their private possessions by the impoverish-

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ment of the Commonwealth: And your daily accounts on both sides will tell you, what infinite treasures are hereby exhausted, How this great body is continually fretted away in the revenue thereof by this devouring gangrene. How the credit, & revenue of the publike, is like to be drawn dry by private engagements, which if they go on, the State is like thereby to become the devourer of it self, & the body to prove bankrupt by debts unto the members, which are daily increased, and exhausted for the food, and maintenance of this devouring monster of civil war, which were farre better famished than fed, since it is but the nourishing of a snake in our owne bosomes; that will pay nothing againe but poyson, for it's entertainment: and yet how many children are like to be robbed of their bread, that it may be cast unto this *Dog*, this very *Cerberus* of hell, which the more morsels it receives, the more ravenous it growes; and is like at length when you can feed it no more, to worry those that have nursed it so liberally. This *Lyon* or *Tyger* may perhaps fawne upon you for meat, untill his teeth and pawes be growne out, but at last he may chance to fall upon his Keeper, and make his last meale upon the bones of those that served him. Oh feed your selves, then, and your friends, and let this Monster, this enemy die of a famine, or goe forrage abroad, lest to the ruine of the State, you contract also that blot and blemish unto your wisdoms, that you should be said to have undone your selves for the supply, and supportance of a most virulent enemy; or to have hired a theefe to plunder your owne house; and to make spoyle of your owne inheritance.

There be some no doubt that set forward this mischiefe, in a dreamie of some great advantage to themselves: looking to fetch something out of the fire, or to rake some treasure out of the ashes of this burning: or perhaps some others may hope to make a salve of this sore, and to avoyd the shame that would otherwise attend upon that fall they are

are exposed to in their owne desperate conditions, by hiding their ruine under the publike calamity, to take off the blemish from their sinking, by falling in a generall mischance. So *Paterculus* will have it to be the humour of many, *Quippe si a se res habet, scilicet ut publicâ ruinâ a priuata quæritur, quoniam suâ prioris et idem passurus minus conspicitur, si saluatur, quam si periret.* that men had rather perish in a common calamity than in a private misery, that their destruction may be hidder in the publike ruine. But such a consolation is both poore and impious. They that beare the minds, but of good minall men, would rather seeke to redreeme the publike happinesse by the losse of their owne private good, than to solace themselves with the sociery of a ruined Commonwealeth. And though some may thinke to build up their owne houses with the rubbish of the demolished State, wherein they live, they are like to have but small comfort in such a repaire. That member that swels with the consumption of the body, is not like to preserve it selfe out of its owne store, but must lyedowne with the rest in the common penury. That sayler is no wise provider for himselfe, that pulls out a side of a ship, to mend a breach in his cabin, let him make it as faire, and as sure as he can, it is like to be drowned with the rest of the ship.

It is no healthfull thriving in the body, where all the parts keepe not in their proportionable fulnesse, and it is but a sickly advantage that any is like to gaine by the impoverishing of the Commonwealeth or Kingdome.

And who would saile through so troublesome a sea, where he is like to have no traffique but to losse and damage. Oh cast Anchor then wee beseech you, take downe your sailes, or returne into the harbour of a most desired Peace, where you may fraught your vessels in safety with more gainfull treasure, than the best mart you can make in this inauspicious voyage, with all the toyle and danger, is like to afford you: venter no more among these rocks,
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and sands, and let not necessity at length have the glory of that compliance which Religion and Christianity should set you upon.

Oh thinke upon those happy advantages that you have joyntly made unto the publike good, by those good Lawes you have enacted this present Parliament, and after so much cost and paines in the repaire, doe not now loose it all by battering downe the whole building, lest your worke prove but like the Mermaid in the Poets

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superba

Least that which is so beautifull and lovely in the upper part, in those excellent things you have heretofore done, should end in a fish or in a serpent; and instead of a comly body should become a monster. Oh let not such a horrid and disproportionable a period, be a disgrace and reproach to so sweet an entrance: you have given us good milke that may nourish us well, do not (we beseech you) now disappoint all our hopes, undoe all our comforts, by kicking it downe with your heeles. You have sowed much good seed, Oh let us enjoy the harvest, and let not any Foxes be sent with fire-brands betwixt them into this standing corne, to consume all, e're we can reape the wished fruit thereof. Doe not proceed in such a warre that is like to loose more in the progresse, than the happiest victory could likely make good in the conclusion; and that is like to make you no recompence in the end, but in a farre greater dammage. Give me leave to put you in minde here of that wise saying of C. Caesar in *Aurelius Victor*, *Arma nisi majoris emolumenti causâ nequaquam movenda esse; ne compendio tenui, iacturâ gravi petita victoria, similis sit hamo aureo piscantibus; cujus abrupti amissique detrimentum, nullo captura lucro pensari potest*: That warre is not to be undertaken but for some great advantage, lest where the charge of the victory, proves greater than the spoyle, the Conquerour may seeme to have fished with a golden hook, the losse whereof can receive

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no recompence by the best fish that can be taken in such troubled waters.

I forbear to speake much of the injustice that may accompany such gaine, if it were to be had, and the curse and malediction that may attend upon it, whereby it may become none other unto those that take it, than the spoyle that *Achan* took in the 7. of *Judges*, of the wedge of Gold, and a *Babylonish Garment*, which brought a judgement upon himselfe and the rest of the people: Since in this case they are like to be made a prey, that are most harmelesse and innocent on all sides. It being the ordinary effect of such civill broyles, that *Paterculus* ascribed unto the intestine discords of the *Romans*; *Inde jus vi obrutum*, (saith he) *potentiorque habitus prior, discordiaeque civium antea conditionibus sanari solita, ferro dijudicata; bellaque non causis inita. sed prout eorum merces fuit*. Right and Justice were made the prey of force and violence; The priority was given unto him that had the greatest power, and the dissensions of the people that were wont to be decided by the Lawes and Constitutions, were now put to the arbitrement of the sword: and the warre was undertaken, not upon the goodnesse or justice of the cause, but upon the hope of prey.

Ubi semel recto deerratum est, in praeceptis devenitur; nec quisquam sibi putat turpe, quod alii fuit fructuosum: The rule of Justice being once forsaken, the course unto mischief became headlong, whilest no man held any thing vile for him to doe, that had beene gainfull unto another.

And againe; *Omnia erant precipitia in Rep: postea id quoque accessit, ut sevitia causam avaritia praberet, & modus culpa ex pecunia modo constitueretur; & qui fuisset locuples fieret nocens; sui quisque periculi merces foret, nec quidquam videretur turpe quod esset quaestuosum*: All things went to wrack in the Common-wealth: And to the rest this mischief was added, That avarice and desire of gaine, made way for cruelty and oppression.

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Crimes

Crimes were rated according to the measure of mens havings; it became guilt enough for a man to be wealthy, whilst every man was made the price of his owne danger: neither was any thing thought sinfull that brought lucre along with it. And let it be considered, I beseech you, whether this be not an apt Commentary for the proceedings which have already beene begun amongst us, and where they will stop none knowes but God: And whether it bee a likely way to establish the liberty and propriety of subjects, that *Diana* which is so much cryed up amongst us, the very *Helena* which is made a maine pretence for the quarrell, by plundering men out of their just rights and possessions, without the least pretence of any legall proceedings; I wish it may be timely considered. Surely such means beare little proportion unto that faire and specious end that is proposed, unlesse we can thinke to settle Order by confusion, and to secure men in their estates, by exposing them to rapine: what likelihood is there that such gaine shall prosper, or what reckoning will be made of it another day? Are not these things a very shame and reproach to Christianity? or is this the way to set up piety and holinesse in a Church, by abandoning all rules even of morall honesty? Oh that that holy precept of the fore-runner of our Saviour might be but thought upon in these dayes, that he gave unto the Souldiers in his time, that sought of him a way to eternall life. Offer violence to no man, and be content with your wages.

What is than the golden prize that we looke for by the victory? no triumph, no gaine. And as little strength or fortitude; Nations usually gather strength by weakening their enemies, but how should they fortifie by making batteries upon themselves? *Via unius fortior* hath hitherto gone for a good proverbe; Oh let us not crosse it to our owne ruine.

That beeing which is most absolute in uniry, is most absolute

solute in strength; and therefore God, who is *Eus simplicissimum*, is *Eus fortissimum*, & *inexpugnabile*, because it is thereby become *sibi sufficiens*, & *independens*; all-sufficient unto it selfe, and independent upon any other.

And those things in the inferiour orbes of essence or being, that come nearest unto this in unity, may seeme to come nearest in fortitude and ability; and this may be the reason, that Angels and other spirituall things are more strong and powerfull than those which are grosse and bodily, because they are more simple, and so more uncapable of division, being not compounded of matter and forme; or of bodies and soules, as others are: And on the contrary, those which are lyable to more division, are lyable thereby unto more easie destruction: Yea, this division is their destruction; for what is the destruction of a man but a separation or division of the soule from the body? Or of other things, but the divorce of the form from the matter? and as it is the very being of destruction in the creatures, so it is the ready gate and way that tends unto it, and therefore necessarily unto weakenesse and imbecillity; which is but a degree as it were unto dissolution. So the quarrell betweene the humours and qualities in the body, That civill disention that falls out betwixt them through that inequality and disproportion that is amongst them in our bodily distempers, procures the weaknesse and imbecillity of the body, which is wasted by the grudges and contentions of these combatants; as the unhappy seat of their intestine battaile, whereby the towers and fortresses thereof are demolished, and the provision and substance thereof devoured and consumed. So the quarrels of the elements do as it were weaken the universe, and shall be the destruction of it (as it appears) hereafter; when the element of fire shall as it were bid battaile unto the rest, and waste and consume the whole world.

On the other side; the peace and concord of the humours and qualities in the body, and of the elements and

parts in the universe) is that that preserves the strength and consistency of both; and I know no other reason why the heavenly bodies are lesse subject to dissolution than the inferiour creatures, but because they have no contrary qualities to make a broyle or discord within them. And though their influences may seeme to have opposite effects, whereby they make as it were forraigne inrodes and invasions upon the rest of the world; yet in that they are free from intestine discords, they remaine more firme and more inexpugnable in their beeing, than others, and are thereby guarded, as it may seeme, from any forraigne assaults to be made upon them.

And if unity be the strength of any thing, than division must needs enervate and weaken.

And we may see this clearly in common experience; The more compact and united bodies are in themselves, the more they are secured and fortified against invasions, and the more enabled to hold out.

The strongest things by division are made weake, the weakest by unity are made invincible. A barre of iron divided into small slivings may be broken in pieces by the hand of a childe, which when it was in its unity and compact, would have despised the force of the greatest Gyant. And the smallest threds being twined together into a cord, may endure the streffe of the strongest horse, which being severed from one another, would fall in pieces with a touch. And therefore it is that the wise man tell us, that *A threefold cord is not easily broken*; And that common and approved Adage, that *Concordiâ res parva crescit, discordiâ maxima dilabuntur.*

This *Scitum* in *Plutarch* seems excellently to insinuate by that embleme that he presented to his foure and twenty sonnes, when he was to leave the world: He caused a sheafe of Arrows (or Javelins) to be brought before them, and presented it bound up together unto all his sonnes by name, commanding them to see whether they could

could breake it; which when they all had assayed to doe in vaine, he takes every one of them asunder, and breakes them with ease one after another: teaching them (saith *Plutarch*) by this similitude, that as long as they continued in unity and concord with one another, they should remaine strong and invincible; but if once they should be diuided, and fall to quarrells with one another, they should thereby become feeble, and easie to be defeated. And to the same purpose it may be remembred, that *Pierius* tells us, that amity and friendship was symbolized by the embleme of Salt: *Corpora enim* (saith he) *solidiora facit, & diutissime conservat*; It is the property of Salt to make bodies the more firme and solid, and to preserve them from corruption. So Amity and Love doth give solidity and strength, and preserveth those amongst whom it is entertained from destruction or dissolution: And it may seeme to have some allusion unto this that we reade

of, כְּרִיתָ סֶלַח *Pactum salis*, for an indissoluble incorruptible Covenant, a solid agreement that was not to be made void: *Num.* 18. 19. And likewise *2 Chron.* 13. 5. Ought yee not to know, that the Lord God of Israel gave the Kingdome over Israel to David for ever, even to him and to his sonnes by a Covenant of Salt? Which phrase is thus interpreted by *Flacius*, *Pactum salis est pactum firmum, & quasi non computrescens vetustate*: A Covenant of Salt is a firme Covenant; that is, not to be dissolved by continuance of time: such a one as we heartily wish may be now made betweene Your Majestie, and all your people.

Now as Amity and Love giveth solidity and preservation, so dissention and discord doth render things languid and enervate, unbraceth a Common-weale, uninspirith a body, and maketh them unable to hold out against the meanest and most inconsiderable assaults. But alas, why doe I spend your pretious time in so ordinary a meditation?

on; your owne daily exercise in this unhappy businesse, is a perpetuall active embleme and imprese of this truth. The strength of your Armies consists in the unity of them, and the dividing of them tends to weaknesse and dissolution: Oh let this very businesse tell you than in what it is like to have its conclusion; and let your happy combination, and the strength that you shall both atchieve thereby, be now unto us the pledge of the security of this Nation.

Oh lay aside now all humane wisdom, and hearken to the word of our blessed Saviour, who puts the matter out of all question; he tells you clearly what advantage you are to expect in matter of strength by this unhappy quarrell: *Every Kingdome divided against it selfe is quickly brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against it selfe, is sure to fall.*

And this Divinity of Christ is attended upon by the Philosophy of Aristotle, in his fifth booke *de Rep:* and sixth chapter; *ἡ δὲ πόλις ὅταν διαιρεθῇ, οὐ δύναται ἵστασθαι.* That which disagrees with it selfe must needs be weake.

But besides this weaknesse that adheres unto the meere division, of which this action wholly consists, There is a fountaine of blood, even a bloody issue opened hereby in this great body; whereat the very spirits and vitall powers thereof doe as it were continually evaporate and flie out: The very Heart-veyne, yea the Arteries, and very channells of life are hereby in danger to be dissected, and the Orifices still to grow wider and wider, whereby it is like to become meagre & languid, and unable to performe the Actions of life; for as in the body naturall the blood is *thesaurus naturæ*, so in the body politick the blood of a nation is such a treasure, that the lavishing away thereof by any prodigall waste, must needs bring it low, and render it faint and feeble. And when it is once lost it is not so easily repaired. Indeed wee confesse, that Phlebotomy may be usefull, in some cases unto both, not onely to
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the naturall body, but unto that of a Common-wealth. And they may both gather strength by the expence of that blood which is corrupt; but then this is to be done by waight and meature: with the carefull and skilfull hand of a Physitian or Surgeon, and that *cum delectu* too, not at all adventure or hazard, and with due regard had unto what the body can beare; this is charily, and warily to be done, not to be committed to the rude hand of the multitude: and great caution to be had, that the good blood may be retained; and this too in case of some urgent necessity, where other milder remedies will not prevaile: but to leave this to a tumultuary performance, as in this case of a Civill war, it must needs endanger the very being and consistency of this Common-wealth. And Oh then, I beseech you consider what an irrecoverable losse wee have been at already in this kind: call to mind we beseech you, the twenty third of *October*, and thinke with compassion upon those scarlet showres, that have stained the very earth whereon they fell. Oh the wounds, the gashes, the dismall doings of that day! who can remember it without a bleeding heart, that so much Christian and Protestant blood, should be let out by Christian and Protestant hands. Looke, I beseech you upon the very countenance of the Kingdome, do you not see it begin to looke pale and wan upon it, ready to sinke and swoone for want of spirits and life? Oh do not then proceed any farther to the imbecillitating of your owne body: Oh give no more fuell unto this fire, which is kindled in your owne mansion; but rather use the meanes to quench it, which is not to be done with blood, but with teares of true repentance, and humiliation for those finnes, which have drawne this judgement upon us, and are dayly committed in the prosecution of this sad difference, for it is *malum peccato gravidum*: a judgement that is fruitfull of many finnes, which are like to pull more, and more mischief upon us. The very pollution of Christian blood, that
much

much defiled the land, is still calling for more judgement: and the more it proceeds, the more is like to be behind, unless God shew wonders of mercy.

Add to this the many mischiefs that attend upon this evil: the wasting of Countries, the demolishing of Cities, the invalidating, and disforcing of the Lawes, whereby they are like to grow even into a desuetude or disuse, which must likely be the destruction of the State, the encouragement of dissolute, and unruly spirits, the dissipating of all good rule and order, the disturbance of the holy Service of God, death, sicknesse, rapines, sacriledge, and what not mischiefe, that do continually flow in upon us at this breach, whereby it becomes a very *Iliu malorum*, a many headed *Hydra* of all sorts of calamities, and which is worst of all, of all sorts of iniquities and sins. And what do these threaten, but the very demolition of the State? the ruine and downfall of this famous Common-wealth? that wee need not wonder at that stile that *Nicetas Choniates* hath set upon a civill warre, calling it *μακρὸν βασύς* τῆς καὶ πολυσύμφορος, an affliction full of anguish and calamity: and againe, *ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πικρὸν, καὶ αἰνιχθὲς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα θροχίνητον κατὰ*. A strange and unusuall calamity, and the most grievous of all punishments that God useth to send upon a people: and that you may know what it is that he thus deciphers, hee tels you immediately afterwards, *τὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν γλῶσση τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδνθ' ἐδύσσω γῆν διηδ', πῇ μὲν ἐξέπερα, πῇ ἡδάπερ ἐδ' ἡδάπερ ἐπικρίπτοντα*. The same Country and Nation was divided into two severall parties and factions, violently falling both upon themselves, and upon one another. The very map or picture of our present condition. And this was so well knowne, even to the Roman Poët, that in his heathenish devotion for *Rome*, he presents this petition in their name unto their gods,

———*Omnibus hostes*

Reddite nos populi, civile avertite bellum.

Let

Let all the world our foes become,
But let us not have warres at home.

And indeed it is a hard matter to find out a mischief of so destructive a nature that we would exchange it for this. *Tyranny, slavery, penury*, any thing almost may be better borne, with *Peace and unity*; than a *civill warre*, with the greatest *liberty and plenty*, since the comfort of such associates would quickly be swallowed up like *Pharaohs* fat kine by such a monster feeding with them. Had wee a tyrant like *Rhehoboam*, that would whipus with *Scorpions*, (which the devill dares scarce be so impudent as to alleage) yet better it were to be under one tyrant, than many: every wicked man may become a tyrant in a *civill-broyle*, when the raines of government are cut in two by our owne swords: were we under the yoke of an *Egyptian slavery*, put into the brick-kilns, to make bricke without straw (but alas, we are sicke rather of too much jollity and licentiousnesse) yet better it were for us to be in *bondage*, then that *fury and violence* should be set free. There is more safety and comfort in being shut up from such a tyger, than to be let loose before it, to be chased for a prey: were we wasted and oppressed in our revenues & estates, yet if the wisest of men may be accepted for a Counsellour, he tells us. *That better is a little with the feare* Prov. 15, 16.
of the Lord, than great treasure, and trouble therewith. 17.
Better is a dinner of herbes where love is, than a stalled Oxe and hatred therewith. Nothing but *truth and righteousness*, is better than *Peace*: and those as they might well flourish without such a dismall dinne as is now on horse-back, were men but sober minded, or could but tell what they would have, (as we may know by those peaceable offers that have beene made for this purpose) So these seldome grow or flourish as they should, by the ruine of peace.

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What

What should I tell you of the sweet inducements unto concord? both *God* and *Nature*; both *Reason* and *Religion* invite you joyntly unto this confederacy.

God speaks to you in the body of one and the same Church; *Nature*, in the propinquity of the same bloud, and nation; *Reason* in the regard of our common safety; *Religion*, in the respects of Christian *mercie*, and *piety*.

God hee speaks to us in the words of the Apottle, to *Eph. 4. 4, 5, 6* *keepe the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace*: because, there is one body, one Spirit, one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptisme, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. Are wee not for the most part, members of the same Church? Do wee not make claime unto the same Spirit? Do wee not all hope for the same heaven? have wee not all the same Christ? Do we not professe the same faith? Are we not baptized with the same baptisme? Do wee not all challenge one and the same Father? Do wee not worship one and the same God? And shall not all this unity upon unity have power to make up one unhappy division?

Act. 7. 26.

Exod. 2. 13.

Nature that speaks unto us, as it were in the voyce of *Moses*, *Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί ἅσα ὕμεις, ἰδὲ ἡ ἀδελφότης ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν* *Sirs, yee are brethren, why do yee wrong (or hurt) one to another?* As the Wise man the sluggard, so shee sends the factious unto the ant, and is it not a shame for us to learne of such masters as these: and yet nature by them reads lectures of peace and unity to us. *Don Antonio di guaraca* in his proëme to his diall of Princes, telleth us, that those kind of creatures (as we may see by experience) live peaceably together, labour for the common good, make no spoile of one another: And truly that which is there his wonder, is now our shame: That 50000 *Pismires* can live together in one hillocke; And that scarce two men can comply together in one and the same State, or Commonwealth. But it may be wee shall disdain to be schollers in
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so meane a schoole. Yet I beseech you disdaine not the voyce of so many supplyants of nature, that petition, as it were, for this unity. The same earth that yeelds us common food, and sustenance, the same ayre which affords us common breath, the same blood that runs in our veines, the same Lawes by which we should be ruled, the mutual interest that wee have joyntly in the good and harme of one another, the neare relations of kinred and country, are all advocates in this suit. Oh stop not your eares unto them all, we beseech you.

I read of the Romans, that when they (as you) upon a Civill discord, had put themselves in array one against another, ready to wreake themselves upon one another, that upon the consideration of their mutual relations unto one another, as being all of the same Nation and Country, they laid downe their Armes, and joyned their hands in a lovely and spontaneous peace and reconcilement. And shall good nature and meere civill engagements do that with Heathens, and meere morall men, which religion, and a multitude both of naturall, civill, and spirituall endearments cannot doe with us that are Christians? Could the same Country unite them? and shall not the same Church, the same Christ (with Country and many other ties to the vantage, not worthy indeed to be named with these) be more prevalent to reconcile us? Or is there any cement like the blood of Christ? or is not peace and love the very livery of his servants? Oh beware lest the very Heathens rise up in judgement against you: lest you bring reproach upon Christianity, by being more implacable than they; Oh teach them not thus to blaspheme that blessed name of Christ, by which you are named, by boasting, that Christians are more bloody, than they: unlesse wee be better than Heathens, as well in our just, and peaceable lives, as in our more sound judgements, and professions, there's danger wee shall never goe be-

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Matth. 5. 46.

Matth. 6. 32.

Matth. 5. 20.

fore them into heaven by using his name, wee so much dishonour: yea wee are in hazard to be plunged deeper into Hell, in that wee are worse schollers than they in the Schoole of goodnesse and unity, when wee have had so much better a Master than they had of truth and verity. Oh thinke upon the Terroures of those questions, and other sayings of our blessed Saviour, *Do not the Heathen and Publicans the same? And, After all these things do the Gentiles seeke. And, Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, yee shall in no case enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.* Surely a peaceable mind is a part of righteousness, & the Scribes & Pharisees were likely as good as Heathens, and such were those Romans wee before spoke of: and if no going to Heaven, unlesse wee be better, (and so more peaceable than they were) how shall wee not feare to misse of Heaven, if we suffer them to outstrip us? Alas, that the fruit of the Gospell of Peace should shew it selfe in no better a measure amongst us, than that we should be found more bloody than Heathens, having such rules, and such patternes of meeknesse set before us, as are both in the precepts, and examples of our Saviour, and the Apostles. It would even grieve a man to thinke on it, how the enemies of Christ are hereby encouraged to boast themselves against the Gospell; and if it were laid to heart as it ought to be, it might serve to take off those intemperate heats wherewith Christian Princes, and others have beene too much enflamed to the shedding of blood, upon too slight occasions; and would, I hope, be a meanes to dull the edges of their swords, that are the maintainers of this intestine warre. That they might not sheath them any more in the bowels of their owne brethren. Oh remember, I beseech you, not a drop of this blood, but hath sea enough in it to drowne the soules of them that shed it unto everlasting perdition, without repentance; unlesse they be provided with a good, and weighty

weighty reason to warrant them in the Action. Oh let not the *Romans* Humanity shame the Divinity of *Christians*.

Reason cryes unto you as you are men, that you would tender the preservation and safety of your selves, and one another;

Religion, as you are *Christians*, by all the bonds of *Christian* piety and compassion, *If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels and mercies, That yee be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one minde.* Phil. 2, 1, 2.

Oh you noble Worthies and States of the Kingdome, and yee the people of the Land, looke I beseech you whom do you fight against? Look upon the sweetnesse, the goodnesse, the piety, the vertue, the beneficency of your gracious Prince; paralell him in the world, if you can. Oh than love him, embrace him, honour him, cast your swords downe at his feet, I dare pawne my life he'll never use them against you: Oh than let it never be said that you kept them to be employed against him. Looke upon him as he hath been, as farre as Majestie would permit, even supplicating to you for peace; offering himselfe into your armes, opening his bosome unto you: Oh close now with one another, and grow into one for ever; that the Devill may howle, and *Rome* mourne, and all your enemies quake and tremble at it.

Remember how much he hath done for you? how he hath flowne from the shedding of bloud? looke upon his plots, his pious contrivances, for the avoyding of a civill warre: Away with those dismall cloudes of jealousies, which portend nothing but increase of mischeife, those fire-brands of all society. Remember all those sacred vows and protestations, attested both by Heaven and Earth; both by God and man, to secure the happinesse of this Union: He hath laid his owne happinesse as it were to pledge for yours. Oh beleeve your Prince, so religious a Prince; at least beleeve God: Trust in him that is

the ruler of Princes. The Kings heart is not in his owne hand, *it is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of waters, and he turneth it whithersoever it pleaseth him.* Oh trust God then, I beseech you, be not jealous of him; Take his counsell then, and be at peace with your Prince. Oh I beseech you let it be your honour to humble your selves to him whom God hath set over you: Stand not upon too strict termes with the Lords anointed, especially when the peace and being of Nations is at stake; but remember that saying of the Armenian unto Pompey, *Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas; neque ei inhonestè aliquem submitti, quem fortuna* (said he) *quem Deus* (say we) *super omnes extulisset: That it is no shame to be overcome by him, whom to overcome were a grand impiety; No dishonour to submit unto such a one, whom God himselfe hath placed over us all.*

And let Your Majesties armes be yet open, Oh doe not too easily reject that which you have laboured so much for with your victorious pen. Oh hang out once more your flag of mercy, and reconciliation, that you may *mereri clementiâ civicam*, looke upon your owne subjects. They are all your owne, all members of that body of which you are the head: and be it that some of them are sicke or corrupt, yet *Omnia prius sentanda*, All gentler meanes are first to be used, e're so great a mayme should be inflicted upon the body. Oh let nothing deprive Your Majestie of the glory of that clemency and mercy wherein You are hitherto so conspicuous and lovely in the eyes of good and faithfull Christians. You will be a great Conquerour in overcoming Your owne power: *Posse & nolle* is a Princely motto. Oh thinke what an establishment Peace will be unto Your Throne; what a comfort and tranquility to Your conscience? This was the wise and powerfull inducement that prudent *Abigail* used unto *David*; *And it shall come to passe when the Lord shall have done unto my Lord all the good that he hath spoken concerning*

1 Sam. 27, 30.

concerning thee, &c. That this shall be no griefe unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my Lord, either that thou hast shed blood causelesse, or that my Lord hath avenged himselfe. Yea, what a solace will it be unto Your Majesties heart at the close of Your dayes, when You shall resigne this Crowne, to receive an immortall one in Heaven, (which wee wish and hope may not be, till after many and many yeares of mutuall happinesse and peace betwixt Your Majestie and Your Subjects.) Oh what a lightsomenesse and ease will it be than unto Your royall heart, when You shall be able to make that profession of *Pericles* at his death, *That he thought himselfe happy that no Athenian wore a mourning garment by his meanes.* Hereby Your Subjects shall in a manner receive all their lives againe at Your Majesties hands under God, which are otherwise like to become the morsells of the sword. Hereby You shall become Gods Substitute, as well in the preservation of his people, as in the administration of his power. And become illustrious in the government of Your Dominions; in that wherein he is most glorious in the government of the world, whose mercy is over all his workes. Oh thinke I beseech you both, *What stability unto this whole Nation, what great advantage unto the cause of God, what reliefe unto poore Ireland, what discouragement unto the Popish Faction, and to all others that are against the truth, what strength unto the Protestant party, what opportunities for the quelling of the adversaries both of God and this Kingdome, What a cumulus, a heape, a mountaine; nay, even a whole world of blessings will be the issues by Gods grace, of this happy re-union. Plenty, safety, tranquillity of minde, society of friends, the reinforcement of Lawes, the very sinewes of a Common-wealth; The restoring of life into the dry bones of the State, The recovery of Religion and honesty amongst us, The repaire of the bounds of propriety & right, The recollection of scattered Congregations, The flourishing of learning, humandry,*

dry, merchandise, those three pillars of a publike State; And (that wherein we hope all to rejoyce,) a comfortable enjoyment of those good lawes you have already made for the common benefit, and a happy progresse and peaceable proceeding to bring that great worke of reformation you have in hand, both for the civill and ecclesiasticall parts of this body, to a mature growth and perfection in such a calme, orderly, and religious manner, as becometh the manning of so excellent a worke. Surely if there be any wombe that is great with the blessings both of Heaven and Earth, it is the wombe of peace. The Psalmist seemes to present you with a posie of some of these pleasant flowers in the 144. Psalme, That our sonnes may be as plants growne up in their youth, That our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a Palace: That our Garners may be full, affording all manner of store: That our sheepe may bring forth thousands, and ten thousands in our ffeedes: That our Oxen may be strong to labour, that there be no breaking in, nor going out: That there be no complaining in our ffeedes. Happy is that people that is in such a case, yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord.

Oh this by Gods blessing will be like the dew of Hermon upon this Nation, to make it sprout and flourish again in its ancient glory, like the precious oyntment upon the glorious head, and upon all the members of this our body, which will give us a sweet savour in the nostrills of the Lord.

Oh think, how comfortable it will be to us, how pleasing unto God, how proper for Christians, how necessary for the Church, how agreeable to the Gospell.

Peace, it is both a duty and a blessing; *bonum iucundum*, The Psalmist seemes to stand even amazed, and ravished in the meditation of it: *Ecce quàm bonum & quàm iucundum*, Behold how good and joyfull a thing it is, &c. Oh call it backe againe and looke upon it, that you

you may be in love with it, and embrace it. I am too unskilfull a limmer to take the pattern of so beautifull a feature: let it therefore before you in its owne substance, by putting a happie period unto this unhappy difference, and you will see how sweet a complexion it is of: that you may hugge it in your hearts, and not part from it any more, to embrace that grim visaged hagg of a civill war, yea it is so great a good, that it is taken for the summe of all sorts of blessings. He that wished a man peace, wished a man all good, both *honestum*, *utile*, and *jucundum*; both vertue, and profit, and pleasure, all are in peace.

All the features of goodnesse are in this good: these part many times in other things; yea it is not very easie to find them dwelling together in this lower world, in the same thing, but here they dwell all together in peace and unity. The study of Peace and reconciliation; it is *mandatum præmio gravidum*, a duty bigge with its owne recompence: and as the Author of Peace saith of himself, so peace in a manner may say of it selfe: ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμῶν, *My reward is with mee*. And what excuse shall wee have then, if wee wilfully reject so accomplished a blessing? Commonly the reason why we refuse that which is good, is because it seemes to be maymed in one of these; if it be honest, yet we except against some dammage, or unpleasantnesse, that is joyned with it, and so we raise a quarrell against it from that ground. But to reject that wherein all these meete. I had almost said, it is a sinne without a temptation; at least I will say, there had need be some good and weighty cause that must divorce us from so sweet a comfort, especially where the quarrell proceeds unto blood, when mens lives are brought in question, and danger: the ground of such a contention had need be both *just*, and *momentaneous*. For as the Lord telleth *Noah*, in the ninth of *Genesis*, *Surely the blood of mens lives will he require*. And againe in the same verie; *Of every mans brother will he require the life of man*. And the reason you

may have at the sixth verse, Why God is so strict an accountant in matter of blood; for *in the image of God made he man* (saith the Spirit:). And in the midst of all our zeale for reformation, (which I wish may prosper well under the steerage of truth and charity) we had best be sure we have a good warrant from the Lord, e're we take upon us to demolish these Images.

Yea, I must not conceale it, but in the name of the Lord, require all men to take notice of it, as they will answer the contrary at the perill of their soules, at that great and terrible day of the Lord; when every drop of this blood, which is, or shall be shed in this businesse, will be weighed unto the least scruple, and be exacted unto the least mite at our hands. I say againe, I require all to take notice of it, That whosoever he be, of what condition or degree soever, that doth voluntarily interest himselfe in the wageing of any warre, especially on the offensive part; if the ground of the quarrell be either frivolous or unjust: nay, if the justice and weight thereof be not in some good measure knowne unto him, he is answerable to God as a murderer; not onely for those lives which shall be therein taken away by his hand, but for every life that shall be lost in that warre, which is maintained by his assistance; for the abettor is liable to the guilt as well as the immediate actour of a crime, and not a man in a whole Army but is an abettour, or assistant in every mans slaughter, and every such slaughter is a murder, where it is not an act of Justice: And then I leave it to all men to consider what a lamentable businesse they set themselves about, that voluntarily serve either in an unjust warre, or in such a one where the justice and weight of the cause is no way knowne unto them: especially I say where the warre is offensive. Sith they must have every one so many mens lives to answer for, so many murders to reckon for unto God, as men shall be slaine in such a warre. And this I heartily wish might be well considered
of:

of: men would not then goe to warre as to Schoole, or make a trade of shedding bloud; listning themselves for pay, without consideration of the cause, or justice of the quarrell: Oh did they know how much they have to answer for, or what stile their most glorious enterprises (in an unjust quarrell) have in the Lords book of accounts, that they are but *magna latrocinia*, or *magna homicidia*. They would have need of a softer bed to sleep on, than many of them finde when they have beene upon such a businesse.

This great danger of sinne in an unjust or causelesse warre, seemes to be well apprehended by the people of God in the holy Scripture, which made them so wary and cauteious in the undertaking of such a businesse. So the people of *Israel*, we know, when they were upon an enterprise of warre against *Benjamin*, before they dare set upon the businesse, they goe and aske counsell at the mouth of the Lord; and that although it were a cleare act of justice in them, for the correction and punishment of that sinne of the *Benjamites*, in countenancing and protecting those children of *Belial*, that had done that inhumane act upon the *Levites* wife; yet they will have their commission from God, for the disposing and ordering of the battaile: *Judg.* 20. 18. And when they had received a defeat, they would not set upon a second assault, untill they were assured againe of the Lords approbation: *Judg.* 20. 23. And upon a second defeat they set upon a third enquiry, *Shall I yet againe goe out to battell against the children of Benjamin my brother, or shall I cease?* And this was the practice of holy *David*, in the 1 *Sam.* the 33^d chapter, when he was to goe up against the *Philistines*, that fought against *Keilah*, and rifled the threshing-floores; *David* dares not goe, untill he had enquired of the Lord, saying, *Shall I goe and smite these Philistines,* And the Lord had said unto him, *Goe and smite the Philistines, and save Keilah.* And the like you may reade of this

this holy Champion of the Lord, in the 30th of the first of *Samuel*, at the 8. verse, when hee was to set upon the *Amalekites*, that spoyled *Ziklag*, and had taken away his wives, *Abinoam* and *Abigail*. So great a provocation cannot make *David* goe, without the Lords warrant upon so dangerous a worke. Hee goes first to *Abiathar* the Priest, and enquireth at the Lord, saying, *Shall I pursue after this troope? Shall I overtake them?* And hee answered him *pursue, for thou shalt surely overtake them*. Yea, we know, that wicked *Ahab* could so farre yeeld unto the wholsome counsell of *Jehoshaphat*, as to enquire of the Prophets, before he went against *Ramoth Gilead* to battell; and though with some reluctancy, *Micaiah* shall be sent for too, (though to little purpose, while *Ahab* hated him.) The disaffection unto the Minister is a stopple upon the heart, that shuts it up against that advice, though never so wholsome, that he bringeth unto the soule. So true is that saying in a spirituall sense, *That Opinio de medico est agro salutaris*: And hereby we may judge what good friends they are unto mens soules, that goe about to throw contempt and hatred upon the Ministry. But this by the way, yet I wish they that passe by would take it up, and carry it with them. But that which is for our purpose here, is, That wicked *Ahab* with a little helpe, wee see, could acknowledge the necessity of asking counsell of the Lord, before the undertaking of a warre, though he forgot his duty in following it; and we know how it fared with him for his rashnesse. And I could wish, that as the advice of *Jehoshaphat* was unto *Ahab*, so my poore advice may be somewhat more acceptable unto the people of this Land: *Enquire I pray you at the word of the Lord*, before you goe on in such a businesse as this; especially, That they would learne of *Israel* in that expedition of theirs against *Benjamin*, to take so much notice of those defeats they receive, as not to proceed againe till they be well assured of a warrant from Heaven; for all overthrowes.

throwes are not for tryall of mens courage, or resolution to maintaine a good cause, as those of *Israel* were; But many times they are warnings and admonitions from God, to admonish us to take heed how wee proceed any farther in a bad one: And if such warnings will not prevaile, at length to pull it out of our hands.

I dare not spend so much time, nor encrease the bulke of this poore Treatise so much, as to undertake the stating of the question at large, and to set downe all those things that are necessary to inable us to the undertaking of a warre: How there must not onely be a just and necessary cause, but the concurrence of a good and lawfull authority: That it is to be undertaken, and maintained by the power and command of that Magistrate, unto whom the Lord hath committed the use and custody of the sword, which is the supreme governour in every Commonwealth, who is the grand cisterne of all authority, which hee receiveth from the prime fountaine of all power which is in God, and deriveth it unto the inferiour Magistracie, whether it be found in single persons, or in many united together into one Corporation or body. As Saint *Peter* seemes to intimate in that cleare precept of obedience which hee gives to the disperfed Christians throughout *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Capadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bythinia* (which I note to avoyd that poore refuge that some patrons of disorder delight perhaps to fly unto, as if God, where hee gives rules, or patternes of obedience and subjection in holy Scripture, meant to calculate them onely for that kind of government which hee had set up amongst the Jewes. Though it it were so, I thinke they would be weary of seeking before they could find out a better, or more safe platforme for the prosecution or performance of all that good which is requisite to the making up of the happinesse of a people, than that which the Lord himselfe set up amongst them.) But the words of S. *Peter* are un-

to Christians, and those of divers and severall Countries, *Submit your selves* (saith hee) *unto every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King as supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evill doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* Where the Apostle shewes us not onely the subordination, which God hath placed betweene subjects and Magistrates, but also that which is betweene supreme and inferiour powers. The inferiour having no power to command, but in vertue and force of the supreme, which the Apostle intimates in the words *ὑποτασσέσθαι δι' αὐτὸν*, being sent of him: where the Apostle seemes clearly to conclude, that inferiour Magistrates, as they are rulers of the people, so they are but instruments, and so Subjects to be ruled, and moved by the supreme power, which is immediate under God. So that their authority which is received frō him, can have no influence or force upon him, or to mannage the sword without him, much lesse against him upon any pretence whatsoever: which makes mee wonder at the strange tenet of *Paraw*, which I need not name, since it is too well knowne in the world, but too little tried and examined. And if not inferiour Magistrates, I will not say, (much lesse any other) for all I conceive are alike in this matter, that are below the Sovereigne Authority. And how then shall any man make a just warre against him, if no man can make a just warre without him? or are wee in doubt who is the Supreme Governour; the Scripture clearly supposeth the King, in that place of *Peter* before cited, and Scripture suppositions are better than humane observations: or if this will not serve, because England is not named in that Epistle of Saint *Peter*, yet we have the matter cleared by Act of Parliament, and I hope that is authentick with us. Looke upon the oathes of Allegiance and supremacie, and see who it is that weares the stile of the onely Supreme Governour of all these Realmes. Oh those oathes! I would to God they were thought on: (*So Help mee God.*) Oh it

it is a strong engagement, and if any thing be done contrary to this Bond, how can men look for Gods helpe in such a businesse. the very undertaking whereof, and every step forward in the motion is a severall renouncing of his helpe? Let me remember you here of what Master Byfield hath in his Commentary upon the first Epistle of S. Peter, explicating these words in the second chapter, *as Epist. xvi.* as to the Supreme, or Superiour; *This should confirme* (saith he) *every good subject to acknowledge and maintaine the Kings Supremacy, and willingly to binde himselfe thereunto by oath; for the oath of Supremacy is the bond of this subjection, and this oath men must take without equivocation, mentall evasion, or secret reservation: Yea, it should binde in them the same resolution that was in Saint Bernard, who saith thus: If all the world would conspire* *Bernad, Epist.* *against me to make me complot any thing against the Kings* ^{170.} *Majestie, yet I would feare God, and not dare to offend the King, ordained of God.* And it must be confest, that hee that is supreme in matter of Magistracy, must also be supreme in the use and custody of the Sword, for that is committed by God unto the publike Magistrate, and is not to be wrested out of his hand; for he it is that *beareth not the Sword in vaine.* But some I doubt will thinke I ^{Rom, 13. 4.} have said too much of this subject: And I for my part do thinke that some have done too much against this truth; and their offence, (which I am sorry for) must be my defence. I might adde here one more condition necessary to a lawfull warre, that it ought to be proclaimed before it be undertaken; that the defendant may have opportunity to remove the cause where it is just, or to cleare it where it is but pretended or unjust, for the prevention of blood: which will be for the condemnation of such a warre, which is not onely not proclaimed beforehand, but denied in the very enterprize and progresse of it; when men shall say, they fight for him whom they shoot at: A strange equivocation, I thinke unheard of before our dayes,

dayes, and that that were indeed enough to put men into a great doubt about that question which *Pilate* proposed unto our Saviour, *what is Truth?* and to make them desire some new discovery of the nature of it, had not the Canons and Ordinances stated the question more plainly, and proclaimed that opposition, which is otherwise denied. But a principall thing to be look't at is the cause of the quarrell. And if this be faulty, nothing else can make it good. And what shall I say for the cause of this warre? I have two good pleas for my silence here. one, that I am not willing to exasperate, where I come to compose and reconcile. What ever it be, my humble desire is, it may be forgotten on both sides, so farre as concerne this quarrell, and therefore I shall forbear now to deale more particularly, and wish I may have no cause to speake more plainly hereafter. Another excuse I have too, and that an unanswerable one, (for ought I know) I neither know well, nor know where to be informed, what the prize is of this great mastery: it is a contention of so strange a nature, that our very language is faine to be corrupted to distinguish it, and wee are yet to learne in our English tongue, what is meant by the King, or what by the Parliament. What is the Parliament? wee can hardly tell whether it signifies the place of sitting, or the members, or whether the smaller, or the greater number of them: and if the greater number, then it is thought it will be found to be there where the stile is not so boasted, even on the Kings side and then wee may know who is for King and Parliament.

And for Your Majesty, I could scarce tell where to looke for You in the businesse, were You not more visible in Your Person, than in Your Title. The safety, and honour of the King: the true Protestant Religion: the Lawes of the Kingdome: the liberty of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament, take up all the quarrell, if men deale sincerely: and yet are both asserted by both parties,
and

and if both drive at the same conclusion, why should you goe to prove it by such quarrellsome premises? Is it not pittie that such a bloudy dispute should be maintained *de lana caprina*, or upon a question affirmed both by opponent and defendant, were but the termes rightly understood? But perhaps there is great difference in the understanding of the question? And though they agree in termes, they differ in the sense. Well, be it so, (as I confesse I thinke it is;) my prayer is, that the Lord of all truth would grant a right understanding on both sides, and that might be a speedy end of the businesse, in the want whereof the quarrell may seeme to have begun. I'll say no more, but onely advise all those that have put their fingers into this fire, To consider well and seriously what they do, To abstract themselves sincerely from all worldly ends, and all politique contrivances whatsoever, and to aske counsell of the pure Word of God; and not to accept or reject that which is to be the rule of all things, as it squares to, or disagrees from our secular designs. Sith *Jeroboams* golden Calves, and *Herods* Infant-massacre may instruct them, that religion and policy goe not alwayes together; though in truth religion be the best policy. That they accept of no warrant as authentick, to enable them to goe on in this opposition, but what they have, or shall receive under the Lords hand, either by precept, permission, or president out of Gods Word. And that they place not infallibility in any humane creatures, whether single by themselves, or assembled together, remembering that it is not their determination, but the rule of Gods Word, whereby we must stand or fall. That they forget not that the greatest assemblies of the wisest creatures upon earth have beene subject to errors.

That they would not set such a blemish upon the constitution of this Kingdome, as if it were of such a nature as had no rule in Scripture.

To distinguish betweene rare and extraordinary cases,

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that

that were managed by special commission from God; and those patternes that are confirmed by knowne and generall rules in divine Writ, and which passe through the whole course of Scripture, that they doe not sayle by *Phanomics*, or *Mysticks*, nor make extraordinary Comets their load starres, but that they yeeld unto that cleare and constant light and direction; which is set downe in the frequent patternes and dictates of the Word. That they doe not make obscure Commentaries of humane wisdom upon the cleare Text, that they doe not rely too much upon Applications, that some are pleased to make of impertinent Texts; nor be so carefull of a shadow, as to believe that they are curd in the curse of *Meroz*, if they doe not fight for their fancies, because they stile it the helpe of the Lord against the mighty; but that they rather tremble at that judgement or damnation, whereby *S^t Paul* guards the authority even of wicked *Nero* from resistance. That they remember that *the Lords cause* is best defended and asserted by *the Lords wayes*; and that *Wee must not doe evil that good may come*. That if they attempt any thing without the word of command, from that great Generall of all Armies, *the Lord of Hosts*, though they should gaine never so much victory on the Lords side, their reward may be but like that of * *Brutus his sonne*, when he got a victory without a command.

That they suffer not that Libertine of the flesh to take upon her to be so petulant, as to give sentence in the matter; or to call that *slavery* which the Spirit calls *duty*; and which that master requires of us, whose service is *perfect freedom*.

That they consider what ever bonds the Lord puts upon us, are *golden chaines*, not *iron manacles*; that have more of ornament and *glory*, than restraint: and that it is better to be the *Lords slave*, than to be a *free-man of the world*. *Magnum est esse captivum Dei*, It is a great matter to be the prisoner of the Lord; it was that glorious title which

which Saint *Paul* doth so boldly say: That God never confines us but to our owne good: that they remember that that power that is set next under God by him, is to be obeyed next under God by us: And that in the worst case we can pretend, He that hath forbidden us to obey an *impious* command, likes well that we should suffer in a good cause. And that they doe not take away so much glory from the Martyrs, that laid downe their lives for the cause of Christ, as to thinke they did it out of cowardise or weakness, more than conscience and submission to the ordinance of God; for what could they feare, if they feared not death and torments? And these would have beene more honourable in the eye of the world, and lesse irkesome unto them, had they upon the greatest disadvantages exposed themselves unto the tryall of a warre: and what disadvantage could seeme any unto them that had the Lord on their side, had they but had his warrant for a resistance? Might they not as well have hoped for his assistance in a warre against the greatest strength that could oppose them, as for his supportance in the greatest afflictions and tryalls that could befall them? Hath not the same God promised both unto his servants? That they be not too secure of that corrupt inclination that is in man, not to be content with that station, & those bounds which God hath set and circumscribed him in, That this *Ignavum pecus*, this lazy asse of our flesh is too easily perswaded, that the lightest burden is too heavy; and that, as a judicious Writer well observes, *There is scarce any thing more facile than to perswade a people they are not well governed.* That they doe not take every novelty for a medicine, a folly incident to the impatience of distempered mindes, as well as to that of diseased bodies. *Proprium est agri* (saith *Lipsius*) *nihil diu pati, & mutationibus ut remediis uti*, It is incident to sicke men (as well in minde, as in body) not to like or endure any thing long, and foolishly to thinke every change a remedy. That they remember that

a warre must either be necessary, or unlawfull; that shedding of mens blood is no matter of liberty: that it must needs be a sinne, where it is not a duty.

To conclude; that they do not judge of the cause by the multitude: God wee know hath given us a caution for that, *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to doe evill.* And where the Lord gives caution there is alwayes some danger: nor by the quality or condition of some persons, by whom it is mannaged. Well meaning men through mistakes may be involved in a bad businesse sometimes, as good *Jehoshaphat* in the warre against *Ramoth Gilead*, *1 King. 22. 39.* though God many times meets with them sharply for it, as he did with *Jehoshaphat* there, *2 Chron. 19.* *There was wrath upon him from the Lord*, and therefore they had best take heed what they doe, though they know their hearts otherwise to be never so right towards God. And wee had best take heed how we follow them too confidently.

And on the other side, bad men are sometimes active in a good cause, as wicked *Joab* in the battailes of holy *David*. And if wee take a survey of his forces, that wee read of in the 21th of the first of *Samuel*, wee shall not want some ground of suspicion, to make us doubt that they were not all of the better sort of people, since it consisted for a good part, as it seemes, of *broken debtors*, and *discontented persons*, that gathered themselves unto him, and hee became *Captaine over them*. Men may perhaps be wicked enough, and yet not so wicked as to forsake every good cause; *Balaam* was bad enough, yet would he not be perswaded to curse *Israel*. A *Papist* (if not *Jesuited*) though he be subject to most grosse heresies, yet he may make a conscience of some one Commandement, as of yeelding allegiance to his Prince, or the like. Neither do I know any reason why hee should be forbidden to do one duty, because hee will not do the rest, or why any should be bound to refuse that, which they by Gods Law and Conscience are bound

bound to offer : and the like wee may say of other sinners : But there had need be good caution not to suffer notorious offenders to part unpunished, lest they prove *Achans* unto the rest of the Army, though the side or cause be never so right, or good. But indeed if the matter should be judged of by this onely, I confesse I could scarce tell which side to take to ; for unlesse reports be very false, all are not innocent on either side. However perhaps one side may pretend more than another; yet I feare that swearing, and drinking, and other notorious offences, are too too frequent in both the Armies. And this if there be not the more care taken, and if God be not the more mercifull, may diuert a blessing from the best worke they goe about, especially if they should be any way tolerated and countenanced, whilest they shoot more oathes against God, than they do bullets against their enemies, they may fight more against themselves with their sinnes, than against their foes with their weapons. And let mee be bold to tell them, on which side ever they are : the goodnesse, or justice of the cause they defend, will not deliver them from the wrath of God, if they do not reforme their lives, and conversations. But however these are no fit measures to judge of this contention by ; if you will judge aright, you must leave out all these by-respects, and see how the thing it selfe looketh in the glasse of the Law of God.

There are two things yet behind to be considered of:

1. The unlikelihood of good to be obtained by the quarrell : contentions are alwayes on the worser side of themselves, they have no stocke of their owne to gaine credit with sober minds, if they have any, it is borrowed from some advantage expected either in the progresse, or at least in the end of the difference. And good care must be taken that they be not so unthrifty, as to make the expence more than the revenue. Neither is every thing that men call good, a considerable purchase at so deare a price. For I hope by this time we have learnt by the want

of it, not to hold peace for the meanest of all blessings: and I hope too by this time we have felt by the sense of it, not to hold warre at least intestine, to be the least of all evils, I am sure they are enterprises of such a nature, that no man comes off a meere savor from them.

But I confesse I see faire prizes set up, but if there should be none but blanks in the Boxe now, the venturers are like to buy nothing but wisdom, to teach them to take heed of such a lottery hereafter. How faire soever the havens are they are bound for, if it be found not to be the right rode, they may wish they had never hoysed their sayles. Let the good be never so great or manifold, which you have set before you in this present attempt: be it Peace, Religion, Liberty, or what you will; yet if this prove not a likely means to attaine unto such ends, they that have begun the warre, or proceed offensively in it will have great cause to desire they had beene asleepe in a lethargy, when they awaked unto such an enterprize.

And which of these, I beseech you, can you promise, or hope, without vaine confidence to be obtained by this way? Is it peace you ayme at? take heed you hunt not counter then, for what course can be more opposite unto this than warre? this is no semblable way unto peace, either in Church or Common-wealth. For the former I appeale unto the experiments already extant in those manifold increased schismes and divisions, whereby this poore Church of ours is daily torne and distracted, and the mysticall body of Christ wounded on all sides; the poore weather-beaten vessell that wee are in is driven with the stormes and tempests hereby raised, and fostered, and is even almost in the same hazard that *S^t Pauls* ship was in the 27th of the *Acts*, dashed and beaten to pices by the violence of more than two contrary seas: and if there be not some timely course taken for the laying of these winds, or pulling downe the sayles, it's danger wee shall be left ere long to the like miserable shift they were then in,

in, even to save our selves, and get to shore if we can upon the broken pieces of the ship.

And for the peace of the State, how unlikely it is to hold without that of the Church, the view of all Histories will enformous. The passions of the soule will breed distempers in the body: where hearts are divided asunder in spirituall interests, there bodies will not be alwayes in embraces. If the spring of peace be out of order, the rest of the wheelles will ne're goe right: And though we should forget that dependance that is betwene spirituall unity, and politique or civill concord, yet we can hardly finde how this latter should grow, or prosper of it selfe alone, out of the midit of these flames of warre, neither out of those ashes which they shall leave behinde them: for either it will end in the alteration of the State, or else it will leave things where they were before, under the wing of that happy Monarchy, which hath beene so long prosperous to the Kingdome. If the former, let every man judge what peace we are like to have upon such termes, while there is so much royall blood to boyle at it; (and cursed be that heart that wisheth it lesse than it is.) And is there any likelyhood that so many noble spirits will sit downe by the losse of so great an inheritance? but I hope this is in vaine. I have neither pleasure, nor need I trust to dwell long upon such a subject. Let no man bee so wicked to thinke of this, for no man can likely be so foolish as to hope for this.

Well then, shall the State be left as it was, under the same forme and rules of government as heretofore? It is the vote I thinke of all good and wise men, it were a very unthankfull folly to humour the wantonness of our appetites, so much as to forsake a diet for curiosity, with which our body hath so well thrived. And if the government of the State continue as it is, I beseech you consider how likely a way it is to procure peace, either in this, or in after ages; to take off that yoke from the unruly multitude,

tritude, by which or none, they are likely to be swayed. To teach them to trample under their feet those reynes of government which should steere them, and keepe them in their right and peaceable motions, to let them learne to take Armes against their owne chiefe Commander, and to batter downe that Throne, which God hath set over them, by most uncivill, and illegall mutinies. Surely wee may even tremble to thinke, what patternes of disturbance, may be taken out hence hereafter, unlesse wee can learne our old lesson againe, which wee have too magisterially forgotten, to reverence and obey our King as Gods Substitute, and to make the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome, the bounds, and rules of our operations, Every ambitious Tumour of popular spirits, or melancholy murmure of discontented persons; that can but guild over their private end, with the false face of some publike grievance, will be ready on all occasions to set all in an uproare: a disease the Common-wealth is not like often to be sicke of. The best way to keepe out grudges and contentions, is to keepe the people to their certaine rules, and not to teach them to make doubts and exceptions. If you once suffer them to grow fond of variety, you cannot tell mee nor they themselves, how many courses will content their appetites, nor at what rate they will purchase the pleasure of their palates. I am sure such longing after variety, is not likely to consist with unity.

What then? is it liberty that must be the purchase? It's worth the having I confesse, and yet I can tell you a reasonable portion may satisfie a Christian temper: and yet this may be bought at too deare a rate too, they that pay peace for liberty, do as it were, sell their stocke to enlarge their field-roume; they weaken the foundation to widen the building; or disjoynt the fabricke, to make the chamber the more spacious: but whilst we improve our house-roume by such breaches, we had not need to be too secure, that we do not with any new fantastickall trickes or contrivances,

trivances. pull a good old house upon our heads.

But alas, we mistake our chafe: licentiousnesse may be gotten, and is I confesse the unhappy purchase of too too many in this merchandise; But for the true liberty of the subjects, how this is like to thrive in a civill warre, let *Germany* tell you, let *England* already tell you; *Ex pede Herculem*, you may guesse at what is behinde by that which hath already beene done; It is like to set things at such a liberty, that no man shall be sure of his owne life or estate. But *Religion, Religion*, that is instead of all; I confesse, *All that a man hath should hee give for this life*: And yet Job. 2. 4. this title is a velvet maske, that is too often used to cover a deformed face; and it is vilely suspected of such an employment here: or if the ayme at it be sincere, it were well it were resolved what it is amongst them themselves that make it their banner; but should their speed be never so answerable to their desires, they that looke upon those contrary apprehensions that are amongst them, will have little reason to beleeeve that there will be the end of the quarrell; but that the contentions will be renewed even amongst themselves, when they come to divide the prize, and so the end of one mischief to become the beginning of another.

But is this the way that God hath taught us, to settle or reforme Religion amongst a people? Surely if that be no elogie or approbation, as I am sure it is not, but rather a heavy reproofe and condemnation, which the Lord layes to the charge of the people, that *They built up Sion with blood: and Hierusalem with iniquity, Mic. 3. 10.* And if that rule be a good one, which the Master of all Truth and of all Religion gives his Disciples, that *The Son of man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: Luk. 9. 56.*

Or, if the practice of Christ and the Apostles be fit patternes for us to walke by, we shall finde little warrant to set upon this worke of reforming the Church by fire and sword. *The weapons of our warfare* (saith the Apostle) 2 Cor. 10. 4.

are not carnall: This is to be done not with threats and bloud, but with prayers and teares, that ancient Armory of the Church of Christ. This enterprife is to be brought about, not by forcing of mens bodies, but by the subduing of soules, which are to be awed by the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. These carnall stratagems if they overcome any in this kinde, it may bring some slaves perhaps, but not many servants unto God, unlesse they could hereby lay hold upon the will and the conscience. The word, the word, this is that weapon that pierceth unto the dividing of soule and spirit, and discovereth the hidden thoughts of the heart, and bringeth into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. Oh lay downe than I beseech you your swords and speares, and doe not disparage the power of Gods truth, so much as to thinke it stands in need of such outward helpes; especially, let us not goe to so deare a market for these Jewells, when wee may have them at a farre easier rate; which leades me to the offer of the last Consideration: The faire gates and passages that the Lord hath yet left open for a happy compli-ance and re-union: In this I shall endeavour not to spend too much time, I know who they are that have the manning of this matter; and it may be easily imagined how little need they have of my counsell. Yet let me crave pardon for a word or two, and obtaine your pardon, if my zeale to peace set me a little beyond the bounds of modesty and wisdom.

1. Is it not a better and surer way to peace, if you would please to lay downe your Armes on both sides, or joine them together for a better purpose? If the spirit of Jealousie have so farre posselt this Kingdome, that neither King nor subject dare trust one another, (which God defend) for how then shall we live? yet your great wisdoms are not likely to be wanting in some wayes that may give security on both sides, I beseech you pardon if I be too bold. Suppose the Parliament should give pledges unto

Heb. 4. 12.

2. Cor. 10. 5.

unto Your Majestie for securing of Your royall Person, and for the prevention, and discountenance of all attempts of force, that may offer the least shew of violence, or restraint to that Royall freedom and priviledge which belongs unto Your Majesty in the passing Bills and Acts of Parliament. And that there be some strict course taken for the prevention of all tumults, the condemning of seditious Pamphlets, and Sermons, with a due punishment of the Authours:

And that on the other side, Your Majesty may be pleased to give such assurance as shall be thought fit unto the Houses.

May not Armes be thus laid downe, and Your Majestie, and the Houses be made up againe?

2. Will not the liberty of Subjects, and priviledges of Parliaments be better secured, by restoring the force, and knowne power of the Lawes on which they are built, than by exposing all to the sword?

3. May not religion be settled better by a faire and free discussion of a Synod of learned and pious Divines (as hath beene offered) so that it be duly and freely chosen, and managed, then by the blind moderation of the sword?

4. For the punishment of Delinquents, is it not better that some tares should grow till harvest, than that such a deale of good wheat should be pulled up, as is like to be in the destruction of so many innocents, whose lives are in question in this warre? or may not the censure of those that have offended, be left to a coole, and mature deliberation, such as becommeth a matter of justice, and mens lives, when Your Majesty, and the Parliament shall be united together?

Or is it not better that some ill members should be borne with for a time, than for the cutting of them off, the whole body should be endangered as it is? and were it not much more to be desired, that our estates should even be exhausted for the disengagement of all debts which are contracted in this businesse, than that the lives of the Kingdome should be set at stake in it, or that bonds for money should be cancelled with bloud?

Oh! let these, and such other considerations, as your greater wisdomes shall offer unto you, prevail with you, to joyne your hands

and hearts with one another againe; that the sadnesse of this mourning land, may be turned into joy againe; and that the drooping hearts of the discouraged people may be revived as it were into a new life thereby, that our sinking vessels may be boyed up againe, and those dangerous breaches in the walls of this Nation may be repaired, and grow firme againe, to the security of all the people therein.

Oh! there's no safety, no comfort in the proceeding: nothing but comfort in the surceasing of the quarrell, millions of hearts will dance for joy at it: if any droope, it will be the hearts of our enemies, whose wicked purposes shall be hereby defeated & overthrowne, who shall hereby be turned back with their noses in their bosomes, with that motto of the Psalmist, as it were written upon their backs

חֲשָׁבוּ מִזְמֶרָה בֶּל-יִכְלָה

Psalm. 11. They imagined a mischievous device which they are not able to performe.

And now it comes into my minde, give me leave to tell you my thought: it was not long before this unhappy difference fell out (if I mistake not) that there was a rumour of a plot and designe that was in hand amongst the Papists; farre beyond that of the Gun-powder-treason, which was to be assisted with their prayers: And truly I see not, but we may well imagine the very contrivance of this unhappy division to be the businesse, which is indeed almost as bad as wee can imagine, as like the divell as his owne child. A stratagem worthy of a Jesuiticall braine: and this conceipt sticks the closer unto mee, because I see them active on both sides in the quarrell, an evident signe, mee thinkes, that they looke for some advantage by the continuance of the war and though it be the smallest of ten thousand motives, it were enough me thinks, to make an end of this difference, even the very sport wee shall have to see them tumble in that toyle, or net which they had so secretly laid, and so finely woven for our ruine, which they are like to do if you be reconciled, for *divide & impera*, is their principall imprese for the reduction of England to the Pope: defeat them of this, and their *Achilles* is overthrowne: or will you be their instruments.

instruments for your own ruine, and let them stand aloofe and laugh at it ?

Oh I beseech you disappoint them of their hopes, & at once deliver us out of our feares, that we may yet praise God for the happiest Parliament that ever sate together in this Kingdome; that wee may give him the glory of so great a deliverance; and that the enemies of God and his Church may be ashamed & confounded when they shall see the Lord to be still on our side: That *there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither any divination against the Israel of the Lord.* That when they shall see so many experiments of Gods settled and constant favour toward us, they may remember themselves, and be turned unto the Lord; when they shall see that neither secret plots, nor open assaults, neither invasions from abroad, nor intestine discords, can proceed so farre as to become the ruine of those whom God intendeth to preserve. If I shall returne ashamed from this my request, I have two things left for me to do: The first, to betake my selfe in my prayers unto God, that it may please him by some wonder or other, if it be his blessed will, to quench this flame. I read in the History of this our Nation, that in the time of King *Henry 8.* in that Rebellion of the *Holy Pilgrims*, as they were stiled, began upon pretences not much unlike those, that have been the colours of this present dissention, being painted over with the specious shew of *Reformation of the Church*; when the heat of the discord had proceeded so farre, that two Armies were ready pitched in the field, to have made a bloody tryall of the matter, when all other hope of reconcilement was even gone, God himselfe became the dayes-man in the quarrell; for in the night before the Armies intended their encounter, a little brooke running betwixt them, (very unlikely to have carried water sufficient to the quenching of so great a fire, since the day before it might have been passed over (as is related) with a dry foot) by the wonderfull providence of God, was so suddenly swelled up with the violence of showers, that the floud of that small channell became the stickler of that dire contention. The Armies being thereby prevented of their intended meeting in war, that they might meet in peace; and so God by a separation brought forth a composition, & by an inundation of water prevented one of blood: which admonition of

Num. 23.

peace from Heaven was so well apprehended, that upon promise of pardon the Rebels left the field, and so the quarrell was at an end. It is not for any of us to prescribe unto God, it is fit we should leave him to be the free disposer of his free mercy. But oh that it might please him, if it be his blessed will, (if nothing else will serve) to take the matter into his umpirage, and by some way best sorting with his pleasure & wisdom, to put an end unto this unhappy difference, whether with, or without our consents; and indeed our greatest, yea our only hope must be in him; for this mischief which is now upon us; it is like that fire in the time of *Commodus* the Emperour, in *Herodian*, which fell out in the Temple of peace, which could not be put out by any earthly means that could be used, untill there fell showres from Heaven to quench it, it is only the shewre of Gods mercy from Heaven that can be prevalent to the quenching of this flame. And therefore my advice unto all good men, as that which is carefully to be look't after, shall be that of the Prophet, in the 62. of *Isaiah*, *Ye that make mention of the Lord keepe not silence, and give him no rest till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a prayse in the earth.* Though all other eares should be deafe to us, yet the Lords eares may be open.

Es. 62. 6, 7.

The second thing I have to doe, is, That if our sinnes are so loud, that neither God nor man will heare us in this suit; than to advise all men to be wary and wise, to be sure to keep themselves on the right side, to remember their duties unto the Substitute of God; and if their hands must needs be lifted up, to take heed whom they lift it against.

Give mee leave to set before you a patterne or two, and desire you to take your choyce which you will follow.

On the one side I will set you *Sheba* the sonne of *Bichri* (2 Sam. 20.) there he is raising of a party against his Sovereign, & breaking forth into that seditious proclamation, *We have no part in David, neither have wee inheritance in the Sonne of Jesse, every man to his Tent O Israel.*

And give me leave to observe unto you the ground upon which that sedition was raised, and leave you to make the parallell. The quarrell was begun between *Judah* & *Israel*, about that question which had the greatest interest in their King. The men of *Judah* are taxed

taxed by Israel for stealing the King away from them, and the strife was about bringing the King back, you may see this ground of the businesse in the 2^d of *Sam.* 19. 41, &c. And behold all the men of Israel came to the King, and said unto the King, why have our brethren, the men of Judah stolne thee away, and have brought the King and his household, and all Davids men over Jordan? &c. We have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than yee. Why then did yee despise us that our advice should not be first had in bringing backe our King?

When this sparke was once kindled, there wants not one to blow it into a flame, and from the strife about their King, under colour of their affection, *Sheba* hath the skill to set up a strife against the King, even a palpable rebellion. A strange art that the Devill hath in setting forward mischietes of this nature. And herein, as his use is, he walkes counter unto God, for as Gods practise is to bring good out of evill; So it is the devils to bring evill out of good. And you may note here how one trouble succeeded another, this of *Sheba*, that of *Abalom*.

Set this patterne by you on the one side, and observe it well. Here is *Sheba* and his party in armes against a good and a gracious King.

On the other side, I will set you *David* in his demeanour towards *Saul*; *Saul* was a mad, wicked, oppressing tyrant, rejected before by God himselfe from the Kingdome. *David*, a man after Gods owne heart, annoynted as well as *Saul*, and yet notwithstanding, when he had *Saul* in his power two severall times, once in the 1 *Sam.* 24. And again, 1 *Sam.* 26. And was incited earnestly to lift up his hand against him, yet dares not do it, but declares his abomination of so great a sin: *The Lord forbid, saith he) that I should do this thing unto my Master the Lords anointed, to stretch forth my hand against him, seeing he is the anointed of the Lord.* So *David* stayed his servants with these words, and suffered them not to rise against *Saul*. 1 *Sam.* 24. 6, 7. See the like *Ch.* 26. 9. Judge you now which of these two patternes comes neereft unto the businesse in hand, and let your consciences tell you which is fittest to be followed.

I could here set before you too the patterne of Christ and his Apostles, and of the ancient Christians in their submission unto the most wicked Persecutors; but our *Diamond* hath no need of such a foyle.

I could.

I could shew you a *Paul* condemning himselfe, and putting himselfe even to open shame, for speaking but an ill word against an unjust Ruler.

A&. 13.

I might bring divers rules out of the Word of God, whereof some are before mentioned.

I might bring you the Doctrine of our owne Church, set forth in the Homilies against Rebellion.

The opinion of the Fathers of the Ancient Church: or if they are of no credit with us, the judgement of our owne Divines in later times, as Mr *Dod* upon the Commandements; *That where a Prince enjoyes unlawfull commands, (we must be so farre from resisting) that we must be content to beare any punishment that shall be laid upon us, even unto death it selfe: which he presseth by the example of the three children in the third of Daniel, who though they would not obey Nebuchadnezzar in committing Idolatry, yet it is noted there of them that they yeelded their bodies to suffer the punishment, without making any resistance. And of Daniel himselfe, Who though he would not yeeld to the wicked edict of the King, yet yeelded to the punishment, and never went about to gather a power against him, though it were in his owne defence. And hee concludes thus; That if the Magistrates commandment be lawfull, the Subject must obey; but if he require an unlawfull obedience, he must not rebell, but suffer the punishment, without grudging even in heart. And if this must be our demeanour towards a Prince, commanding contrary to the Law of God, we may easily guesse what it must be toward a Prince commanding contrary to the Law of the Kingdome; both which notwithstanding he is bound in conscience to observe in the ruling of his people, and is answerable unto his Ruler for the contrary, which is God. Now that God of all light and truth open the blinde eyes of the people, that they may no longer runne upon their owne ruine: That they may remember those words of Abijah to the people, that joyned with Jeroboam against him; O children of Israel, fight yee not against the Lord God of your fathers, for you shall not prosper.*

Dan. 3.

2 Chr. 13.
12.

Now the God of Peace speake the word of Peace unto us all: And the Peace of God which passeth all understanding, keepe our hearts and mindes in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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